

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10

ACDA-05 SAJ-01 SAM-01 CU-02 NIC-01 SIL-01 LAB-04 /082 W

----- 089170

R 251331Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8926

INFO AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, GW

SUBJECT: THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS -- THEIR SITUATION IS
SERIOUS BUT NOT DESPERATE

REF: BONN 3533

SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS (JUSOS) HAVE
SERIOUS INTERNAL PROBLEMS, IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO
THINK THAT THEY ARE IN ANY IMMINENT DANGER OF SPLITTING
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APART. THE TASK OF INTEGRATING THE SO-CALLED STAMOKAPS

AND ANTI-REVISIONISTS WILL BE DIFFICULT, BUT THE CHANCES ARE QUITE GOOD THAT THE JUSO LEADERSHIP WILL BE ABLE TO FUNCTION FAIRLY EFFECTIVELY IN THE YEAR AHEAD.
END SUMMARY

1. THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS FACE A THREE-FOLD TASK: THEY MUST MAINTAIN RELATIVE PEACE WITH THE REST OF THE SPD, MEND THEIR OWN INTERNAL DIVISIONS, AND ESTABLISH A BETTER FOOTHOLD AMONG WEST GERMAN YOUTH. TOP PRIORITY MUST GO TO HEALING THE WOUNDS OPENED IN WIESBADEN AND TO BRINGING THE STAMOKAPS AND ANTI-REVISIONISTS AROUND TO COOPERATION WITH NATIONAL CHAIRMAN HEIDI WIECZOREK-ZEUL AND THE EXECUTIVE BOARD. IF THE TASK OF INTEGRATION IS NOT SUCCESSFUL, THE JUSOS' DIFFICULTIES WITH THE REST OF THE PARTY WILL BE COMPOUNDED AND THEIR ABILITY TO ENGAGE IN ANY PRACTICAL POLITICAL WORK WILL BE ALMOST NIL.

2. IN THE OPINION OF MANY SPD SOURCES, INCLUDING LEFTISTS, THE HARD LINE DRAWN BY THE "REFORMISTS" AGAINST THE STAMOKAPS AND ANTI-REVISIONISTS WAS "A GOOD THING -- AND SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE SEVERAL YEARS AGO." THE FACTIONAL WRANGLINGS AND SHARP CONFRONTATIONS IN WIESBADEN PRESENTED A SORRY SPECTACLE, PICKED UP WITH GLEE BY THE CDU/CSU, BUT THE GENERAL FEELING IN THE SPD IS THAT THE RESULTS WERE WORTH IT. THE ELECTION OF A HARD-LINE STAMOKAP (DETLEV ALBERS) TO THE JUSO EXECUTIVE BOARD COULD HAVE PARALYZED IT, AND POLICY COMPROMISES WITH THE STAMOKAPS AND ANTI-REVISIONISTS SUCH AS THOSE MADE AT THE 1974 MUNICH CONVENTION WOULD HAVE MEANT A CONTINUATION OF PUBLIC CONFUSION AND SUSPICION ABOUT THE POLITICAL ORIENTATION OF THE JUSO LEADERSHIP.

3. HOW DEEP ARE JUSO INTERNAL DIVISIONS, AND HOW GREAT IS THE TASK OF INTEGRATION? THE JUSO "REFORMISTS" REPRESENTED BY HEIDI AND THE EXECUTIVE BOARD CAN BE LABELLED "MODERATE" ONLY IN THE PARTICULAR CONTEXT OF THE JUSOS. THEY ARE, OBVIOUSLY, PRONOUNCED LEFTISTS AND COUNT THEMSELVES AS PART OF THE SPD'S LEFT WING. THEY SEEK RADICAL REFORMS OF THE SYSTEM,
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NATIONALIZATION OF KEY INDUSTRIES, AND MITBESTIMMUNG IN ALL ASPECTS OF SOCIETY. THEY BELIEVE THAT THEIR GOAL OF "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM" CAN BE REACHED IN STEPS, THROUGH REFORMS, AND BY PARLIAMENTARY MEANS.

4. THE STAMOKAPS, IN CONTRAST, ARE VERY CLOSE TO MOSCOW-ORIENTED COMMUNIST THINKING (ALTHOUGH HEIDI DEFENDS THEM TO THE EXTENT OF DENYING THAT THEY ARE COMMUNISTS).

FOR THE STAMOKAPS, "THE STATE IS THE AGENT OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS", AND REFORM MEASURES "ONLY DECEIVE THE PEOPLE ABOUT THE TRUE REALITIES OF CAPITALIST DOMINATION". THE STAMOKAPS ALSO ADVOCATE A CELL-STRUCTURED PARTY.

5. THE ANTI-REVISIONISTS FALL SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THE REFORMISTS AND THE STAMOKAPS. THEIR SPECIAL EMPHASIS IS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF MOBILIZING THE PEOPLE. LIKE THE REFORMISTS, THEY SUPPORT A "DOUBLE STRATEGY" OF WORKING IN THE PARTY AND PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS AS WELL AS

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ACDA-05 SAJ-01 SAM-01 CU-02 NIC-01 SIL-01 LAB-04 /082 W
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R 251331Z MAR 75

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"CITIZENS' INITIATIVES", BUT IN THE EVENT OF CONFLICT
THEY PLACE PRIORITY ON THE LATTER.

6. THE LINES OF DIVISION AMONG THESE THREE FACTIONS
ARE NOT CLEAR CUT, AND TO A LARGE EXTENT THE DIFFERENCES
ARE MORE APPARENT THAN REAL. THE LARGE MAJORITY OF
JUSOS DO NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES ANYTHING OTHER THAN
"A JUSO". EVEN MOST OF THE DELEGATES AT THE CONVENTION,
ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCES, INCLUDING THOSE WHO VOTED
AGAINST HEIDI AND THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, CAN NOT ARTICU-
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LATE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN "REFORMIST", "STAMOKAP"
AND "ANTI-REVISIONIST." WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THERE
ARE PROBABLY ONLY ABOUT 25 HARD-CORE STAMOKAPS. DETLEV
ALBERS IS ONE OF THEM, AND HAS BEEN LABELLED "VERY
DANGEROUS" BY A LEFT SPD SOURCE. (ALBERS, WHO COMES
FROM A WELL-TO-DO HAMBURG FAMILY, IS AN ASSISTANT
PROFESSOR AT BREMEN UNIVERSITY, AND ON THE EXECUTIVE
BOARD OF SPD KREIS HAMBURG-EIMSBUETTTEL. HE WAS EXPELLED
FROM THE HAMBURG SPD IN 1971 FOR COOPERATING WITH THE
COMMUNISTS; THIS DECISION WAS LATER CHANGED TO A TWO
YEAR SUSPENSION FROM HOLDING PARTY OFFICE.) ALBERS
AND HIS FOLLOWERS PROBABLY CANNOT BE "INTEGRATED" INTO
THE REST OF THE JUSO FOLD -- AND THERE IS NOW A LARGE
BODY OF OPINION IN THE SPD, INCLUDING THE LEFT SPD,
WHICH ARGUES THAT NO EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO KEEP THE
STAMOKAPS WITHIN THE SPD FOLD. OUR SOURCES ARE HOPEFUL
THAT ALBERS AND HIS FRIENDS WILL GET THE MESSAGE AND
LEAVE THE SPD VOLUNTARILY, BEFORE IT REACHES THE POINT
WHERE PRESSURES BUILD UP TO EXPEL THEM.

7. THE REST OF THE JUSO DISSIDENTS (WHO OPPOSED HEIDI'S
REELECTION AND ADOPTION OF THE "POSITION PAPER") CAN
PROBABLY, IN THE OPINION OF OUR SOURCES, BE BROUGHT
AROUND TO COOPERATION WITH THE REST OF THE JUSOS BEHIND
THE NEW EXECUTIVE BOARD. THESE "PROBLEM GROUPS" ARE
BASED IN HAMBURG, BERLIN, WESTERN WESTPHALIA, AND
BAVARIA. IT IS NOT COINCIDENTAL THAT THESE ARE ALSO
THE AREAS IN WHICH THE LOCAL SPD ORGANIZATIONS ARE AT
THE CONSERVATIVE END OF THE SPD SPECTRUM. THE RADICAL-
ISM OF THE JUSOS IN HAMBURG, AS COMPARED TO THOSE IN
HESSE, FOR EXAMPLE, IS PROBABLY MORE A REFLECTION OF
THEIR DIFFERENCES WITH THE PARENT SPD IN HAMBURG THAN
OF REAL DIFFERENCES WITH HESSE JUSOS.

8. NEVERTHELESS, THE TASK OF INTEGRATION WILL NOT BE

EASY. THE CONFRONTATION IN WIESBADEN AND THE MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS OF "REFORMIST DICTATORSHIP" AND "STAMOKAP BLACKMAIL" LEFT A BITTER TASTE, AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL HURDLES LOOM AT LEAST AS LARGE AS THE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES OF RECONCILIATION. NEVERTHELESS, HEIDI KNOWS THAT RECONCILIATION IS NECESSARY, AND THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EXECUTIVE BOARD HAS ALREADY MADE ONE GESTURE IN THAT DIRECTION BY PLACING PSEUDO-STAMOKAP BENNETER (ON LAST YEAR'S EXECUTIVE BOARD BUT NOT REELECTED) IN CHARGE OF FORMULATING JUSO POLICY IN THE IMPORTANT, BUT POLITICALLY NOT TERRIBLY SENSITIVE AREA OF HEALTH POLICY. THE NEED FOR SOLIDARITY IN COMING ELECTION CAMPAIGNS, THE FIRM HAND OF CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, AND THE APPARENTLY INCREASING STRENGTH OF CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE SPD WILL ALSO TEND TO ENCOURAGE RELATIVE "MODERATION" WITHIN THE JUSOS' OWN RANKS.

9. THE JUSOS HAVE SCHEDULED FOUR WORKING GROUP

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ACDA-05 SAJ-01 SAM-01 CU-02 NIC-01 SIL-01 LAB-04 /082 W

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R 251331Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8928

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CONVENTIONS IN THE COMING YEAR. THE FIRST WILL TAKE PLACE IN JUNE, ON MILITARY SECURITY POLICY, AND WILL BE FOLLOWED BY OTHERS ON POLITICAL WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, AMONG TEENAGERS, AND AT THE UNIVERSITIES. THE JUSOS ARE COMING TO REALIZE (IF NOT TO PRACTICE) THAT THEORETICAL SQUABBLING AT JUSO CONVENTIONS (WHICH ARE DOMINATED BY STUDENTS AND CIVIL SERVANTS) ARE CREATING AN EVER GREATER DISTANCE BETWEEN THEM AND "ORDINARY JUSOS". (STUDENTS REPRESENT 14 PERCENT OF JUSO MEMBERSHIP BUT 42 PERCENT OF JUSO CONVENTION DELEGATES; LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS CONSTITUTE 24 PERCENT OF JUSO MEMBERSHIP BUT ACCOUNT FOR ONLY 3 PERCENT OF CONVENTION SEATS). THE JUSOS ALSO KNOW THAT THEY HAVE THEIR WORK CUT OUT FOR THEM IF THEY ARE TO COMPETE WITH THE INCREASINGLY SUCCESSFUL JUNGE UNION AND SCHUELER UNION AND COMMUNIST EFFORTS TO WIN OVER WORKING CLASS YOUTH AND STUDENTS.

10. THE JUSOS WILL PROBABLY NEVER BE FREE OF INTERNAL FACTIONALISM, AT LEAST NOT AS LONG AS THERE IS NO POLITICALLY INFLUENTIAL HOME TO BE FOUND ON THE LEFT OF THE SPD. STILL, IT APPEARS THAT IN THE COMING YEAR OR SO, ESPECIALLY GIVEN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS, THE CHANCES ARE CONSIDERABLY BETTER THAN EVEN THAT THEY WILL MORE OR LESS CLOSE RANKS, AVOID SERIOUS CONFLICT WITH THE PARTY, MAKE A GENUINE ATTEMPT TO FORMULATE THEIR OWN POLICIES ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, AND INTENSIFY THEIR EFFORTS TO WIN THE SUPPORT OF WEST GERMAN YOUTH. HILLENBRAND

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL PARTIES, PARTY FACTIONS, PARTY LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BONN04836
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750104-0006
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750320/aaaaarck.tel
Line Count: 328
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 BONN 3533
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <15 APR 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <16 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS -- THEIR SITUATION IS SERIOUS BUT NOT DESPERATE
TAGS: PINT, GE, SPD, JUSOS
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006